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PROGRAM Crossfire

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SUBJECT Scott Stanley, Jr. of the John Birch Society

ANNOUNCER: ...In the Crossfire, Scott Stanley, Jr. of the John Birch Society.

PAT BUCHANAN: Welcome to Crossfire.

By a two-to-one vote today, the United States Senate rejected diplomatic sanctions against the Soviet Union proposed by conservatives Armstrong and Helms, and settled for a verbal condemnation.

To comment on what one columnist has derided as the pusillanimous response of Ronald Reagan to Soviet barbarism over the Sea of Japan, we have a spokesman of the John Birch Society. That's the right-wing political organization whose leader, Larry Patton McDonald perished in the Korean Air massacre.

TOM BRADEN: Mr. Stanley, among the comments that you've made about the death of Larry McDonald in that terrible shooting, murder, you said this: "He was the most important Communist leader in the world. They shot down the plane because they knew he was on it."

Could you explain that to me?

SCOTT STANLEY, JR: He was the most important anti-Communist leader...

BRADEN: Anti-Communist.

STANLEY: ...in the world. And what I said was that they might well have shot down the plane because he was on it. I

don't know why they shot that plane down. Why did they starve ten million Ukrainians in...

BRADEN: But surely -- come on, let's be reasonable. They didn't shoot the plane -- you can't believe they shot the plane down because Larry McDonald was on it.

BUCHANAN: You think it was a political assassination?

STANLEY: Absolutely, it was a political assassination. The man was the foremost anti-Communist leader in the United States, certainly in the Congress.

BRADEN: Just because he was head of the John Birch Society? Does that make him the foremost anti-Communist leader?

STANLEY: He was the National Chairman of the John Birch Society. He was on the board of the [unintelligible] Conservative Caucus. He was on the board of a Committee for a Free Congress.

BRADEN: I would have thought that maybe the Secretary of State or the President was the most important anti-Communist.

STANLEY: Well, the Secretary of State and the President will be out of office in four years or so. Larry McDonald was a relatively young man in his forties. He was the first national conservative leader to unify both the New Right and the Old Right.

BRADEN: Well, let me get into this. You say that they might have shot it down because Larry McDonald was on it. Am I mistaken, or didn't Larry McDonald miss his plane and catch this one ten minutes later?

STANLEY: He missed it and then he went two days -- he went two days later. And that is what happened.

BRADEN: Well, would it be possible for the Soviet Union to say, "Look, he's taken a different plane. We'll shoot that one down"?

STANLEY: That's an awful naive question for a former covert action man at CIA. You know very well they would have...

BRADEN: Well, let me get to the point. I cannot -- I mean I cannot believe, and I don't think any reasonable person could believe, that the Soviets shot the plane down because Larry McDonald was on it.

STANLEY: Well, Larry McDonald was the great thorn in their side on active measures. He had put hundreds of --

literally hundreds of articles into the national press on Soviet active measures. He was turning the heat on the peace movement in very serious ways.

BRADEN: I would have thought that the leader -- without respect to Mr. McDonald, whom I knew and I found him an intelligent fellow. But on the whole, I would say that the John Birch Society is one of the greatest assets that the Communist Party has in this country.

STANLEY: Well, I understand you would say that because, of course, you have a liberal commitment and you want to knock the fellows on the other side.

BRADEN: Well, but the things that the John Birch Society has said over the past years is so silly that they can't help but be laughed at. They're not...

STANLEY: Mr. Braden, you obviously don't know much about the John Birch Society over the last -- say, since 1977. For example, in our campaign to communicate the nature of the United Nations, we put together some -- petitions with some 12 million signatures.

BRADEN: ...12 million signatures doesn't mean you're right.

Let me just quote you...

STANLEY: Well, no. But it means we are able to reach 12 million people who agree with our statement of policy.

BRADEN: Howard Cosell reaches more people than that.

Listen, here's Mr. Jerry Allen, one of the major figures in the Birch Society. Here's his quote. This is recent. "Communism is only one arm of the master conspiracy in which socialist American insiders are plotting to establish a world government. Among the other representatives, Haig and Bill Casey," the head of the CIA.

STANLEY: I think that's balderdash. Where'd you get that?

BRADEN: This came from Mr. Jerry Allen, a spokesman for the John Birch Society.

STANLEY: He's not a spokesman for the John Birch Society, number one. Where'd you get the...

BRADEN: ...chapter and verse. That's chapter and verse.

STANLEY: Well, let me hear it. Let's hear it.

BRADEN: I just read it to you.

STANLEY: What you read wasn't chapter and verse.

BRADEN: Well, I took it out of a magazine which quoted your Mr. Jerry Allen...

STANLEY: What magazine was it?

BRADEN: I don't know. It was an article about the Birch Society.

STANLEY: Well, it's not -- that's not the -- that's not the...

BUCHANAN: Let me get on this. Let me get on this.

You said at the commemoration services, I guess, to memorialize Larry McDonald at Constitution Hall when you spoke, you said that Larry McDonald, the late congressman, was deeply hurt by the fact that he'd been somewhat ostracized, I guess, by other conservatives because he belonged to the John Birch Society. Now, the John Birch Society was sort of read out of the conservative movement in 1964 by the magazine National Review of William F. Buckley, who was our guest yesterday.

Let me ask you. Why do you think conservatives shun the John Birch Society, and people like Buckley, who are conservative, that magazine?

STANLEY: Well, Buckley's complaint was always against our leader Robert Welch. And he and Mr. Welch were not...

BUCHANAN: He said you hurt the cause of anti-Communism.

STANLEY: Yes. He said we hurt the cause of anti-Communism because he and Robert Welch had differing views on some personalities. And it was Buckley's desire to be the leading spokesman for American conservatives.

BRADEN: Let me interrupt here. I'll tell you one reason why this is true. Because the leader of the John Birch Society said -- and I hope you won't argue with me about where I got this quotation -- "Dwight David Eisenhower was throughout his whole career a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."

Now, any kind of balderdash like that can't help but help Communism.

STANLEY: Well, what he said was, after a very long book of hundreds of pages, that after looking at this whole background, either Eisenhower was (A) or (B) or (C) or (D), and then the reductio ad absurdum that you now quote. And I don't think that's in keeping...

BUCHANAN: Mr. Stanley, let me get back to the question. Why do true conservatives today shun the John Birch Society, if they do?

STANLEY: I don't think they do. And that was what made Larry McDonald so valuable, because he crossed between the Old Right and the New Right. He was the man who was the new National Chairman of the John Birch Society.

BUCHANAN: Why don't conservatives -- I mean you know a lot of prominent conservative writers, intellectuals, politicians, etcetera. John Rousselot was a member of the Society. I think he denounced it when he left. Larry McDonald was the only one I can think of now in Congress who was a major public figure in -- well, maybe that's an exaggeration. But other people refused to join the John Birch Society. Why?

STANLEY: Well, Pat, there have been -- really, weekly news magazines call it the review of the news, and review of the news does feature interviews. On the cover of review of the news over the last three to four years, there have been 25 United States senators...

BUCHANAN: [Unintelligible], people like that.

STANLEY: Yes.

BUCHANAN: But they don't join it.

STANLEY: Well, they're welcome to join it. We'll be glad to have them.

BUCHANAN: Why do you think they don't?

STANLEY: The Society is not a political organization. It's primarily an educational organization.

BUCHANAN: Look, you mentioned Larry McDonald was on the Board of the Conservative Caucus. There's Paul Weyrich's group. There's Terry Dolan's NCPAC. A lot of these groups, the ACU, all the conservatives, interlocking boards, just like the left, and everybody goes back and forth. But nobody crosses over and goes to the Birch Society.

STANLEY: Pat, somebody's got to take the point. And we have been taking the point, and we go out on the issues and we go

out front on them, and our people are essentially activists. The other organizations you're talking about, many of them are mailing lists. Our people meet regularly...

BUCHANAN: The Conservative Caucus, you said yourself, has got a million members.

STANLEY: It has a million members on its mailing list.

BUCHANAN: Is Howard Phillips a member of the John Birch Society.

STANLEY: I don't...

[Confusion of voices]

BUCHANAN: It's a what?

BRADEN: Secret conspiracy. Sure it is.

STANLEY: The NAACP doesn't release its membership list, either. And the reason they don't is because there are people who want to harass you for your political views and...

BUCHANAN: Let's take Howard Phillips. He's a conservative outspoken guy. Why would he be -- why would he not want to be associated with the John Birch Society. Larry McDonald, after all, was associated with the Conservative Caucus.

STANLEY: Howard Phillips sponsored the great memorial service, four thousand people here in Washington on Sunday.

BUCHANAN: But he didn't take baptism, did he?

STANLEY: Well, he had the preachers on the stage. I think it's clear enough from the response of that crowd that the Society was warmly and...

BUCHANAN: Do you think you were hurt badly by Robert Welch, who -- every time I've been on a show, that quote, here it comes.

BRADEN: Well, here it comes again. I'm going to do it again because I'd like to know what he thinks of that.

I used to work closely with John Foster Dulles. In fact, I once helped him write a speech that he delivered on the subject of Communism. [Unintelligible] Robert Welch: "It is certain beyond dispute that John Foster Dulles sold anti-Communism down the river into Communist hands as cleverly as he knew how and as rapidly as he could."

Do you really believe that that's true of John Foster Dulles?

STANLEY: I think John Foster Dulles's policies, particularly employing people like Tom Braden in those years in the '50s when we had a thing called the Braden Doctrine, where America poured two million dollars a year into left-wing activities under the guise of fighting Communism, I think that kind of thing makes any Secretary of State suspect.

BUCHANAN: Do you want to elaborate on the Braden Doctrine?

STANLEY: Sure. The Braden Doctrine is the doctrine...

BUCHANAN: Is this the Tom Braden Doctrine?

STANLEY: It's the CIA doctrine that you send socialists to fight Communists, and therefore you put money into the socialist labor unions, into the...

BUCHANAN: We put two million dollars?

STANLEY: Two million...

BUCHANAN: Mr. Braden, did you give two million dollars a year to socialist labor unions?

BRADEN: I don't know, Pat. But I...

BUCHANAN: Where'd you get that information?

BRADEN: I don't know where he got that information.

But just let me point out to you, if you knew anything about fighting Communism in Western Europe in the '50s, the one thing you didn't do was go give it to the royalists, who weren't going to get anywhere.

STANLEY: This is...

BRADEN: Look -- look, I was -- look, I was taking on Communism in Western Europe when you were in kneepants, for heaven sakes. I was...

STANLEY: A fight between the Communists and the royalists?

BRADEN: I will tell you right now the CIA...

STANLEY: Is that why you...

BRADEN: The CIA licked Joseph Stalin's last great offensive in Western Europe, and it did it by helping liberals, intellectuals, and socialists, which is to say conservatives, because socialism in France and Belgium is nothing but a sort of moderate Republicanism.

STANLEY: Is that why you...

BRADEN: And you don't know anything about fighting Communism.

STANLEY: Is that why your top aide was the former head of the United World Federalists?

BUCHANAN: Who's that?

STANLEY: Cord Meyer.

BRADEN: What've you got against him?

STANLEY: He was the former head of the United World Federalists. Is that correct?

BRADEN: That's right.

STANLEY: What is the United World Federalists? Is that an organization dedicated to the destruction of American sovereignty and the sovereignty of every other individual nation in favor of establishing a world government?

BRADEN: [Laughter] No. I think the United World Federalists was an idealistic organization...

STANLEY: ...for idealism...

BRADEN: ...Cord Meyer. I don't hold any brief for Cord. I'm not here to argue his case. But he worked for me in the CIA. And I would say he, too, knows about four times as much about Communism as you do and of any silly member of the John Birch Society.

STANLEY: ...running around with a \$2000 tan, strutting and saying that the fight is between Communism, on the one hand, and royalists, on the other.

BRADEN: No, I didn't say that.

BUCHANAN: That's what you intimated.

BRADEN: Don't misquote me. I did not say that. I said if you think that after World War II we were going to fight Joe Stalin's last great offensive by putting money into the hands of



Bourbons in Paris or royalists or the Royalist Party in Belgium, you're wrong. That wasn't going to get anywhere.

STANLEY: I wouldn't argue that we should do that.

But let's talk about what you did. In your article in the Saturday Evening Post in 1960, you...

BUCHANAN: Could you hold it up till we come back?

STANLEY: Sure.

BUCHANAN: We're talking with Scott Stanley, Jr., editor of Review of the News and American Opinion, two publications of the John Birch Society. We'll take off where we left off as soon as we get back.

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BRADEN: Now, Mr. Stanley, let me correct the record, because I attributed a quotation to a Birch Society member -- I'm quoting here from an article in Newsweek -- a Birch Society member named Jerry Allen, and I made a mistake. I should have given that same quotation and attributed to public relations director John F. McManus. He says, and I quote, "It considers Communism," the Birch Society, "only one arm of a major conspiracy in which socialist American insiders are plotting to establish one-world government. Even the Administration has its share of insiders," says public relations director John F. McManus, "among them, Secretary of State Alexander Haig and CIA Director William Casey." Let the record be clear.

Okay. Now let me ask you what are you -- I just want to pin you down on this. Do you think that Dwight D. Eisenhower was a conscious agent of the Communist Party?

STANLEY: No. I don't now and never did. It's preposterous to say that, and the Society never argued this. It's nonsense. Let's go back...

BUCHANAN: Let me ask you about what -- what did you say about Mr. Braden's famous piece in the Saturday Evening Post? What was it, "I'm glad the CIA" -- what's the title of it, Tom?

STANLEY: We were talking about providing funds and we were talking about how bravely you have provided them to socialists and labor unions to keep them out of the hands of royalists and, I presume, monarchists, which is about as silly a red herring as I've heard this week. But the...

BRADEN: How old were you when World War II ended? Do you know anything about what was going on in France or Italy?

STANLEY: Are you really going to do one of those...

BRADEN: I'm certainly going to do one of those because you're an ignoramus. You don't know anything more about Communism than what you read in the John Birch Society magazine.

STANLEY: How about the \$50,000 in small bills you gave to -- you talked about giving to Walter Reuther for Walter and Victor to go over to Europe and spread around and buy labor unions? Is that a correct reflection of what you wrote about?

BRADEN: ...unions in Western Europe in 1950 or 1947 or '8, we wouldn't have -- we wouldn't have democratic governments in Western Europe.

STANLEY: Why give it to Walter Reuther and Victor Reuther after the famous letter from the Soviet Union signed "Yours for a Soviet America," the one that was also run in the Saturday Evening Post?

BRADEN: ...in the early '30s.

STANLEY: They became right-wing extremists...

BRADEN: Several generations and a war had intervened. I'm not going to argue with you about Walter and Victor Reuther. They were American labor leaders and they had strong influence on German labor leaders, and they were able...

STANLEY: Alger Hiss was an American official with the State Department. What you're talking about...

BRADEN: ...red herring.

STANLEY: What did you want to do about Alger Hiss?

BRADEN: What does that have to do with anything?

STANLEY: Well, you're saying they were American labor leaders. I'm telling you that there are Americans...

BRADEN: Would you say they were Communists? Do you think the Reuther brothers were Communists?

STANLEY: The Reuther brothers sent a letter from the Soviet Union signed "Yours for a Soviet America." What do you think that means? They ran it in your Saturday Evening Post, the same editorship that published your article about...

BUCHANAN: Would you equate the late Walter Reuther with Alger Hiss? Are you putting Alger Hiss...

STANLEY: Oh, no. My point is that because someone is an American citizen, they can commit very bad, very foolish, quite insane...

BUCHANAN: How do you think -- well, let me change the subject...

BRADEN: Well, I'd say it is not very bad or very foolish. I'd just say that the John Birch Society, and you too...

[Confusion of voices]

BRADEN: You're paranoid.

STANLEY: ...fifty dollar bills. Is that the way you operate in the CIA? Tell us about -- tell us about the money you provided to the National Student Association to buy and corrupt young American students in order to use them for your programs. Did you do that?

BRADEN: I don't think we corrupted any American students.

STANLEY: Did you buy, did you covertly buy -- provide funds to the National Student Association?

BRADEN: No. But you...

STANLEY: There were Senate hearings that state you did.

BRADEN: You, in your silliness, would think so because it's part of the John Birch Society's maxim to be paranoid.

BUCHANAN: The CIA did provide funds to the National Student Association. One of the recipients, I believe, was Gloria Steinem, who headed it at one time.

BRADEN: Well, the National Student Association was a CIA front.

STANLEY: It was?

BRADEN: Yes.

STANLEY: Well, that's the first time I've heard that. I'm glad to hear it from a former covert action chief.

BRADEN: Well, we...

BUCHANAN: You weren't a covert action chief, were you?

BRADEN: We knocked the German student movement right over from being a Communist front to being a good democratic...

STANLEY: Did you do tha with people like Gloria Steinem and Paul Potter and some of the people who later created the anti-Vietnam movement? They were very clever, weren't they?

BRADEN: I don't know anything about those people. I didn't deal with them.

STANLEY: What, you'd just send a bag of money? You didn't give them the fifty dollar bills like you did with Walter Reuther?

BRADEN: Well, we ran some covert operations. Some of them cost money and some of them didn't. But we certainly didn't -- we certainly -- I'll tell you one thing we did do. We kept the Daily Worker going for a couple of years, and I wish we hadn't because you paranoids would have hopped on that and said that...

BUCHANAN: You kept the Daily Worker going?

BRADEN: Oh, sure.

BUCHANAN: Did you know that?

BRADEN: You had to have a target. You had to know who your enemy was.

STANLEY: Well, our point for many years has been that people like Mr. Braden and CIA put up the funds for half the left-wing organizations in the world.

BRADEN: [Laughter]

STANLEY: Now he tells us they were even funding the Daily Worker. I'm not surprised at all.

BRADEN: Well, you don't know anything about fighting Communism.

STANLEY: Well, I don't fight Communism by giving money to Walter and Victor Reuther to fight monarchists.

BRADEN: No, you just put out magazines which quote Patrick J. Buchanan, John C. Calhoun, and the South African newspapers on the subject of race and say that's anti-Communism.

STANLEY: Well, I'm prepared to put your anti-Communist description tonight up against my own. Let's let the people of Washington decide...

BUCHANAN: Let's let them decide.

Our guest has been Scott Stanley, who's the editor of Review of the News and American Opinion, two publications of the John Birch Society.

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BRADEN: Pat, I was looking at the simple-minded nonsense which Mr. Stanley puts out in the form of a Review of the News and American Opinion. And I noted that on three separate occasions you were quoted very favorably, along with the South African Observer. Aren't you a little ashamed of yourself to be getting paeans of praise from the John Birch Society?

BUCHANAN: Well, well, well. Funding the Communist Daily Worker, were we?

BRADEN: [Laughter] Pat, that was scientific...

BUCHANAN: Did they quote you favorably, Mr. Braden?

BRADEN: No, they didn't have to quote me.

Scientific exposes of Communism in the '50s required taht we have a Communist Daily Worker.

BUCHANAN: And tell me the purpose of funding the Communist Daily Worker in the '50s.

BRADEN: It was to find out exactly what the American Communist Party was doing.

BUCHANAN: How did you get the money to them?

BRADEN: You know I'm not going to tell you all the...

BUCHANAN: Did you have fun?

BRADEN: I'm not going to tell you all the...

BUCHANAN: Mr. Braden, I don't...

BRADEN: Have you joined the John Birch Society?

BUCHANAN: No, I'm not a member.

BRADEN: Why not?

[Confusion of voices]

BUCHANAN: ...list of names quoted: Alexander

Solzhenitsyn, John C. Calhoun, Patrick J. Buchanan.

BRADEN: John C. Calhoun. Yeah he used to hit his slaves. There's that famous letter: "Take the slave who ran away from my wife and give him 30 strong lashes."

BUCHANAN: Now you're denouncing George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and John C. Calhoun, but funding the Daily Worker.

BRADEN: No, you don't couple those, Pat.

BUCHANAN: All three...

BRADEN: But if I were you, I would be ashamed to be quoted favorably by the John Birch Society.